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ABSTRACT

Research for this paper was undertaken to determine whether the black suburban growth during the 1970's was primarily a process of dispersal or concentration--that is, did blacks disperse into exclusively white neighborhoods or did they tend to concentrate in suburbs that already contained significant black populations. Census data from 1970 and 1980 were examined to find the following: (1) trends in the racial composition of certain locales; (2) types of racial residential change; and (3) distribution of people across suburbs. Long existing barriers to the entry of blacks into suburban communities were challenged in the 1970's, and exclusively white suburbs "opened up" to new black residents. However, the number of blacks involved in this dispersal process was small compared to the total black suburban population. Only a small proportion of blacks live in predominantly white suburbs, and this proportion did not increase between 1970 and 1980. Data are presented on seven tables and figures. A brief list of references is included. An appendix discusses the sampling methodology. (BJV)

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Elaine L. Fielding

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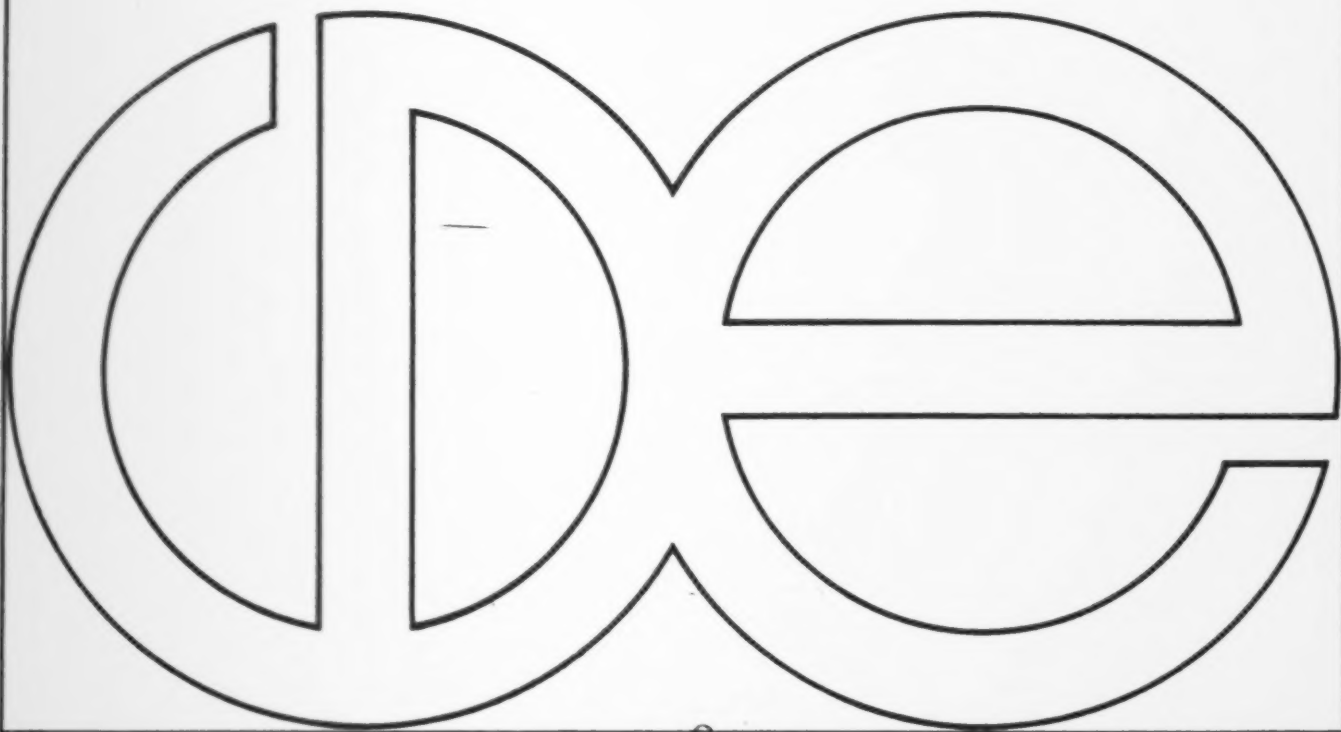
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Elaine L. Fielding
March, 1988

BLACK SUBURBANIZATION IN THE U.S.: DISPERSAL OR CONCENTRATION?

Patterns of black population redistribution during the 1970s marked a significant turnaround from previous trends. For most of this century, the predominant path of black movement was that from southern rural areas to the central cities of large metropolitan areas. Racial discrimination and the rapid suburbanization of whites after World War II left most metropolitan blacks concentrated in city neighborhoods with a high proportion black. Since 1970, patterns of black movement have changed; many blacks are moving to suburban areas and fewer are entering central cities. Black population growth in suburban areas exceeded that in central cities in both absolute and relative terms during the 1970-80 decade (Long and DeAre, 1981, Table 1). For the first time, the proportion of U.S. blacks living in central cities declined, from 58% in 1970 to 56% in 1980. In addition, the black suburban growth rate over the decade (49%) was more than three times that of whites (16%). As a result, the average suburban percent black increased from 4.8% in 1970 to 6.1% in 1980 (Long and DeAre).

Many authors have discussed the potential advantages to blacks of moving to suburban areas in terms of quality of life, such as access to better schools and neighborhoods, and increased opportunities for homeownership (Clark, 1979; Lake, 1981; Rose, 1976). Others have focused on the effect that black suburbanization could have on reducing

metropolitan residential segregation by race (Frey 1978, 1984; Hermalin and Farley, 1973). Reducing residential segregation is seen as one of the crucial elements in the achievement of racial equality in this country. Before evaluating its social implications, however, we need to understand the demographic (distributional) aspects of recent black suburbanization.

The goal of this paper is to determine whether the black suburban growth during the seventies was primarily a process of dispersal or concentration. That is, did blacks disperse into exclusively white suburbs or did they tend to concentrate in suburbs which already contained significant black populations? Since most suburbs have very few or no blacks, dispersal represents the "opening up" of communities which were previously closed to blacks. Two factors which would support the dispersal hypothesis are the rising incomes of middle-class blacks (Farley, R., 1970; Frey 1984, 1985; Hermalin and Farley, 1973) and changing attitudes towards residential integration among whites (Bobo, et al., 1986; Farley, R., et al., 1978). If most black suburban growth is occurring in suburbs with high initial percentages black, this represents concentration. The long history of racial segregation and discrimination in housing supports the concentration hypothesis.

Blacks have always lived in suburban areas, and between World War II and 1970, constituted approximately 5% of the total suburban population. However, these blacks were mostly concentrated in heavily black enclaves: rural towns in the South and industrial cities in the North (Farley, 1970; Rose, 1976). The trend towards increased black suburbanization began in the 1960s when some suburbs had rapid gains in

their black populations (Connolly, 1973). Some dispersal of blacks into white suburbs occurred during the sixties (Clay, 1979). Clay also noted a tendency among blacks of lower socio-economic status to concentrate into majority-black suburbs. Research on trends during the seventies suggests that dispersal accelerated. In the Washington, D.C. area, for instance, many formerly all-white suburbs had gained blacks by the mid-1970s (Grier and Grier, 1978). Spain and Long (1981) found that a significant proportion of suburbanizing blacks entered census tracts that were less than 10% black. Other researchers emphasized the evidence of concentration in the black suburbanization of the seventies. For instance, two papers reported that increases in percentage black over the decade tended to be greatest in suburbs with high initial percentages black (Farley, J., 1983; Logan and Schneider, 1984).

The dispersal vs. concentration issue will be addressed here via three sets of questions. First, how did the racial compositions of individual suburbs change over the 1970-80 decade? Was the overall distribution of suburbs by percentage black affected by black population growth? Second, how were black and white population change related? Did suburbs that gained blacks tend to be losing whites or was parallel growth of both the black and white populations more common? These two issues are similar to those discussed by previous researchers in that they focus on specific suburban places as the unit of analysis. The third set of questions looks at the effects of black suburbanization from a different perspective, that of the distribution of people across types of suburbs. Do most blacks (and whites) live in

suburbs with a low percentage black as relying on the average suburban percent black of 6% implies? Were there any significant changes in the distributions of blacks and whites over the decade? The concluding section will contrast the results of the place and people analyses and discuss implications for the future.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this analysis come from the 1970 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972, 1983). The metropolitan area is the primary sampling unit since demographic processes occurring within an individual suburb are intimately related to larger processes occurring in the surrounding area and related central city. In order to ensure a sufficient pool of potential black suburban residents, the sampling population was restricted to those Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) with more than 50,000 blacks. The final sample consists of 30 SMSAs which together contained 58% of all metropolitan blacks in 1980 (see Appendix A for a full description of the sampling procedure and the list of SMSAs).

Within each metropolitan area, all suburban places (whether incorporated or census-defined) with at least 2,500 residents in both 1970 and 1980 are included in the sample. Previous research focused on only incorporated places. Unincorporated places are included here to increase the degree of coverage of the total suburban ring population. Still, persons residing in the ring but not in places of 2,500 or more are not represented in the data. The omitted population is mostly rural, although it could include people living inside the urbanized

area and not in places. The 1,358 places contain 68% of the black suburban ring population of the 30 sampled metropolitan areas. The average coverage of the white ring population is somewhat lower.

As constructed, the sample is not representative of all U.S. suburbs. Instead, it provides pictures of sets of suburbs in metropolitan areas with large black populations. These suburbs are more exposed than the "average" suburb to black in-migration originating from their corresponding central cities. Because of the sampling design, trends can be assessed for this set of "exposed" suburbs as a whole and at the level of individual metropolitan areas. The sampled metropolitan areas varied considerably in 1970, from those like Washington, D.C. with large central city and suburban black populations to those like Minneapolis with relatively small central city black populations and very few suburban blacks.

TRENDS IN THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PLACES

The focus of this first section is on the changes in percent black for individual suburban places over the decade. In Figure 1, suburbs are plotted by their percent black in 1970 and in 1980. The graph shown here looks much like that presented by Logan and Schneider (1984) for the same period but a somewhat different sample of metropolitan areas. Each point in the lower left corner represents a large number of suburbs, indicating that most suburban places remained predominantly white over the decade. For instance, there were 96 suburbs which were exactly zero percent black in both years. Percent black increased in three-quarters of the suburban places and decreased in about one-fifth

of them, with the remaining places being those with no blacks in either year. On the average, percent black increased from 6% in 1970 to 9% in 1980. The strong clustering around the diagonal in Figure 1 shows that the majority of changes in percent black were small. The points far above the diagonal represent suburbs which underwent rapid racial change during the seventies. The 34 suburbs having the greatest increases (over 30 percentage points) are concentrated in three metropolitan areas: Los Angeles, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C.

What does Figure 1 tell us about the dispersal vs. concentration issue? This discussion will be supplemented by reference to Table 1, which summarizes Figure 1 by giving the distributions of places by percent black for 1970 and 1980. The movement of many suburbs up the far left side of the graph supports the dispersal hypothesis. This tendency is evident in the changes over the decade in the top several rows of Table 1. Many all-white communities became open to blacks during the seventies. The proportion of places with zero blacks dropped by half, from 21% in 1970 to 10% in 1980. The destination in terms of percent black for most of these places was in the 1-10% range, as shown by the large increases in these categories between 1970 and 1980. At the other end of the distribution, most of the suburbs with high percentages black in 1970 experienced increases in percent black (Figure 1). As a result, the number of places over 70% black doubled from 18 in 1970 to 36 in 1980. This pattern suggests that further black concentration occurred in some suburban places that already had sizeable black populations. However, this group represents a small proportion of the overall sample of suburbs.

How was the black suburban growth of the seventies distributed across types of suburbs? Black population figures for both years are displayed in Table 2. The percentage black categories shown here are as of 1970; that is, the 1980 figures (column 2) represent the number of blacks who lived in the group of places which were a particular percent black in 1970. The suburbs with the lowest proportions black in 1970 experienced the fastest black growth. For example, the black populations of the places between 0% and 1% black in 1970 had increased by more than a factor of six by 1980 (column 3). The percentage of the total black suburban growth accounted for by each category is shown in Column 4. This distribution demonstrates that the majority of black growth over the decade occurred in places with a low initial percentage black. More than half (55%) of the total black growth is accounted for by the group of all places less than 10% black in 1970. This finding provides further confirmation of the dispersal hypothesis.

The low black growth rate in the highest percent black categories was not expected given previous results. There was essentially no change in the black populations of places over 70% black in 1970. Apparently, very few suburbanizing blacks entered these communities during the seventies. This fact does not contradict the observation from Figure 1 that most of these places had increasing percentages black over the decade. Such increases could have resulted from decreasing white populations in those places.

TYPES OF RACIAL CHANGE

This second section of the place analysis examines the population dynamics underlying the observed shifts in racial composition. Different types of racial change (which have different implications for the future) can produce similar outcomes in terms of changes in percentage black. For instance, an increase in percentage black can come about in several ways: through black population growth and white population decline, through increases in both the black and white populations with the black growing faster, or through decreases in both populations with the black declining slower. In order to evaluate the relative prevalence of different types of racial change, the sample suburbs were classified into a typology based on the direction of change in percentage black and the growth rates of the black and white populations. The typology used here (see Table 3 for a description of the categories) is similar to that developed by Taeuber and Taeuber (Negroes in Cities, 1965) for central city neighborhoods.

Two previous articles addressed the relationship between white and black population change in suburbs (Guest, 1978; Marshall and Stahura, 1979). In their study of suburban population change during the 1960s, Marshall and Stahura concluded that whites were not leaving areas with large or rapidly growing black populations. Guest also found that many suburbs experienced increases in both their black and white populations between 1950 and 1970. His categorization of suburbs is comparable to that shown in Table 3. More than two-thirds of suburbs in his sample fell into the Predominantly White category (those which had fewer than 400 blacks in both 1950 and 1970). This finding indicates that little

dispersal occurred during that period since the majority of suburbs remained exclusively white. The authors of both studies felt that the patterns of suburban population change that they observed were mostly a result of the explosive growth of suburban areas following World War II. Since 1970, the overall growth rate of suburban areas has slowed considerably. In fact, in the sample of the current study, the suburbs as a whole grew by only 7% over the seventies, with the white population declining by 2% and the black population growing by 61%. Thus, we would expect the distribution of these suburbs across racial change categories for the 1970-80 decade to look different than that described by Guest for the 1950-70 period.

The distribution of suburbs by type of racial change is displayed in Table 3. The Predominantly White category (suburbs less than 0.5% black in 1970 and in 1980) captured the largest portion of the sample, 30% or 409 suburbs. The trend toward dispersal is confirmed by the fact that the next largest category is the Invasion type: 292 (22%) suburbs were less than 0.5% black in 1970, but had gained enough blacks to cross that threshold by 1980. The next two largest categories, Succession and Increasing Percent Black--Growing (both with 14%), represent very different processes of population change. Succession suburbs are those that lost whites while gaining blacks. They are thus likely to undergo rapid increases in percentage black and may approach majority black compositions over time. Growing suburbs experienced increases in both their black and white populations and may tend to remain racially mixed communities. The slower suburban growth of the 1970s is evident in the size of the two Declining-Stable types

(Increasing Percent Black--6%, Decreasing Percent Black--8%).

Another interesting feature of the typology results is the degree to which the distribution differs among metropolitan areas. Several metropolitan areas had distinctive distributions as shown in Table 4, which is limited to those SMSAs with more than 30 suburban places in the sample. In the Washington, D.C. area, half of the suburbs underwent succession during the seventies and only one remained predominantly white. Washington has a very large black population and a history of black suburbanization. Although the Detroit area also has a large black population, its distribution across the typology is similar to those SMSAs (like Minneapolis and Milwaukee) with much smaller black populations. The vast majority (70%) of Detroit's suburbs were in the Predominantly White category, suggesting that barriers to black entry into suburban areas are still strong there. Considerable dispersal occurred in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas over the decade, judging from the high proportion of their suburbs in the Invasion category.

Conclusions from this second part of the analysis are similar to those from the first part. Clearly, many places which would have fallen into the Predominantly White category before 1970 had significant black population growth during the seventies. The invasion category represents more than 40% of all the suburbs which were less than one-half of one percent black in 1970. The relative frequency of Succession suburbs is also greater for the 1970-80 period than for the 1950-70 period. Some of these suburbs are definitely examples of concentration, with black growth contributing to increases of more than

than 30 percentage points in percentage black. However, the number of such places (29) is relatively small compared to the total, and the majority of Succession places were still less than 20% black in 1980. From the place perspective, then, the evidence is mostly in favor of the dispersal hypothesis.

DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE

Another way to view the suburban racial patterns of the 1970s is to look at the distribution of people across types of suburbs. The suburbs in this sample vary greatly by size (from 2,500 to over 200,000). Therefore, trends at the place level are not necessarily indicative of what is happening to suburban blacks and whites on the average. This third part of the analysis distributes the black and white populations of the entire sample across suburbs and asks what type of suburb they each tend to live in. Asking this kind of question could lead to different conclusions about the consequences of recent black suburbanization.

The distributions of blacks and whites by type of racial change are shown in Table 5 for both 1970 and 1980. The majority of whites (55% in 1980) lived in either Predominantly White or Invasion suburbs. Most suburban whites lived in places with very few blacks or to which blacks had come only recently. Overall, the distribution of whites closely parallels that of the number of places in each category (see Table 3). The distribution of blacks, however, is skewed; over half (53% in 1980) of the blacks resided in Succession suburbs. This concentration may be partly due to the fact that Succession suburbs are

on the average larger than any other type (data not shown). Nevertheless, the majority of blacks in this sample experienced the process of black population growth in their communities as being accompanied by white population decline. Changes over the decade in both distributions are in line with expectations given the type of population change each category represents. One notable change is for the Invasion category, where the percentage of blacks increased from 1% to 7% between 1970 and 1980 and the percentage of whites increased from 26% to 28%.

The distribution of people by racial composition of place was also examined. The cumulative distribution functions for blacks and whites by percentage black of place are portrayed in Figure 2. Points on the lines represent the cumulative percent of blacks (whites) living in suburban places which were less than a particular percent black. For example, 16% of the blacks and 86% of the whites in the sample lived in suburbs less than 10% black in 1970. Unlike in Table 5, the "categories" here are not constant; the number of suburbs less than a given percent black changed over the decade. In interpreting this graph, it may help to refer back to Table 1 which shows the distributions of places by percent black for both years.

The steep rise of the white curves up the left side of the graph indicates that the almost all of the whites in this sample lived in suburbs with very few blacks. Again, though, their distributions are consistent with the overall distribution of suburbs. The trend over the decade for whites was toward increased exposure to blacks; their curve for 1980 is lower than that for 1970. The percent of whites in

places more than one percent black rose from 39% in 1970 to 57% in 1980. The black curves tell a different story. A significant proportion of blacks lived in the small number of suburbs that were heavily black. In 1970, there were only 34 suburbs over 50% black, yet they contained thirty percent of all the blacks in the sample. The lower black curve in 1980 as compared to 1970 demonstrates that suburban blacks became more concentrated during the seventies. Despite the dispersal of blacks into many exclusively white communities, the overall proportion of blacks living in places with a low percentage black did not increase; even in the lower-left corner, the 1980 line is below the 1970 line.

From the people perspective, it is clear that the majority of blacks live in suburbs with a much higher than average percent black and that most suburban whites have little contact with blacks in their communities. The average percent black in 1980 was 9%, yet only about 15% of the blacks in this sample were in places less than 10% black in 1980. In his study changes in the suburbs of St. Louis between 1970 and 1980, John Farley (1983) reached similar conclusions about the concentration of suburban blacks. Even more telling is the concentration of blacks in places which underwent racial succession over the seventies. This finding suggests that suburban blacks are likely to become even more concentrated over time, especially if these succession suburbs continue to lose whites while gaining blacks. Even though some suburban whites are becoming more exposed to a few blacks, the balance of results from the people analysis supports the concentration hypothesis.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the implications of the results discussed here differ by whether the focus is on places or on people. From the place perspective, the findings, when taken together, provide strong confirmation of the dispersal hypothesis. That is, the predominant pattern was the "opening up" of exclusively white suburbs to new black residents. Most of the suburban black population growth over the decade occurred in suburbs with low percentages black in 1970. In other words, long-existing barriers to the entry of blacks into suburban communities were challenged during the seventies. However, the number of blacks involved in this dispersal process is small compared to the total black suburban population. The results of the people analysis showed that only a small proportion of blacks live in suburbs with a low percentage black and that this proportion did not increase between 1970 and 1980.

There are several reasons why the two perspectives lead to seemingly opposite conclusions about the effects of recent black suburbanization. First, as previously mentioned, suburbs vary considerably by size which can produce different results if certain types of suburbs are larger than other types. Some of the suburbs with high percentages black are the large inner-ring suburbs which are losing whites to exurbia. Second, changes in the overall distribution of people across a group of areas occur slowly. Given the history of black suburban concentration prior to 1970, large changes in the distribution of blacks across suburbs were not expected. However, it must be stressed that the direction of change over the seventies was

towards further concentration. On the other hand, minor population changes can create more rapid shifts in the distribution of places. It only takes 50 blacks moving into a formerly all-white suburb of 10,000 for it to fall into the Invasion category and be considered a case of dispersal. Finally, the two perspectives represent genuinely different demographic processes since they are based on different units of analysis. Therefore, the conflict between the two sets of results is not a contradiction so much as a contrast between two ways of looking at things.

Results from the two perspectives can be used to evaluate prospects for the future effects of black suburbanization. From the place perspective, a further drop in the number of exclusively white suburbs seems likely. In most places with a low initial proportion black, racial change will probably occur slowly, possibly resulting in more bi-racial communities. Other suburbs may undergo further succession toward a majority black composition. Patterns of suburban racial change at the place level will certainly differ among metropolitan areas. In SMSAs with large black populations and a history of black suburban concentration (such as Washington, D.C. and St. Louis) continued succession and concentration could result in black suburban enclaves--contiguous groups of heavily black suburbs. Other metropolitan areas (like Detroit and Milwaukee) may continue to have significant numbers of predominantly white suburbs. A third scenario is for a metropolitan area to be characterized by dispersal of blacks as well as many bi-racial communities. Los Angeles and Atlanta may fall into this third group.

The future looks somewhat different from the people perspective. If the patterns of distributional change occurring in the 1970s continue, the proportion of suburban blacks residing in heavily black suburbs will increase. For many blacks then, suburban living could become almost a reproduction of central city living, especially if the suburbs in which they are concentrated are those with aging housing, declining tax bases and low average socio-economic statuses. However, the increasing number of whites living in suburbs with a measurable number of blacks could contribute to changes in attitudes toward residential integration. Over time, such a shift could prevent future black concentration and result in a more even distribution of blacks across suburbs.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLING METHODOLOGY

The universe was restricted to the 79 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) having more than 50,000 blacks in 1980. All of the 19 SMSAs which had over 200,000 blacks were included. Then, one-quarter of the remaining SMSAs were chosen by means of a systematic sample. Four of the 34 sampled SMSAs had to be excluded from the final sample. Data for 1970 were not available for Dallas, Houston and New Orleans due to technical problems with the Census tapes. Changes in the way New England townships were coded between 1970 and 1980 prevented the inclusion of Boston. The 30 SMSAs which constitute the final sample are the following, in alphabetical order:

Atlanta, GA	Mobile, AL
Baltimore, MD	Nashville-Davidson, TN
Birmingham, AL	New York, NY, NJ
Chicago, IL	Newark, NJ
Cleveland, OH	Norfolk-Va. Beach-Portsmouth, VA, NC
Columbia, SC	Philadelphia, PA, NJ
Columbus, GA, AL	Richmond, VA
Dayton, OH	Riverside-San Bernadino-Ontario, CA
Detroit, MI	Rochester, NY
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	Sacramento, CA
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	St. Louis, MO, IL
Memphis, TN, MS, AR	San Francisco-Oakland, CA
Miami, FL	Seattle-Everett, WA
Milwaukee, WI	Washington, DC, MD, VA
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN, WI	Wilmington, DE, MD, NJ

Table 1. Distribution of Places by Racial Composition

Percent Black	1970		1980		Percent Change in No. of Places, 1970-80
	Number of Places	Percent of Total	Number of Places	Percent of Total	
0%	282	20.8%	141	10.4%	-50.0%
0-1	534	39.3	464	34.2	-13.1
1-2	112	8.2	174	12.8	+54.8
2-5	133	9.8	149	11.0	+12.0
5-10	82	6.0	137	10.1	+67.1
10-20	102	7.5	127	9.4	+24.5
20-30	43	3.2	57	4.2	+32.6
30-40	28	2.1	29	2.1	+ 3.6
40-50	8	0.6	24	1.8	+200.0
50-60	9	0.7	12	0.9	+33.3
60-70	7	0.5	8	0.6	+14.3
70-100	18	1.3	36	2.6	+100.0
Total	1358	100.0	1358	100.0	----

Table 2. Black Population Growth by Racial Composition of Place

Percent Black, 1970	Number of Blacks		Black Pop. Change 1970-80 (%) (3)	Percent of Total Black Growth (4)	Number of Places (5)
	1970 (1)	1980 (2)			
0%	0	26,674	----	3.0%	282
0-1	29,603	210,922	+612.5%	20.4	534
1-2	24,746	77,999	215.2	6.0	112
2-5	74,752	213,044	185.7	15.6	133
5-10	104,349	193,120	85.1	10.0	82
10-20	318,315	524,139	64.7	23.2	102
20-30	176,419	224,275	27.1	5.4	43
30-40	216,664	295,674	36.5	8.9	28
40-50	70,326	83,088	18.1	1.4	8
50-60	162,610	210,423	29.4	5.4	9
60-70	72,301	77,748	7.5	0.6	7
70-100	201,952	202,215	0.1	0.0	18
Total	1,451,857	2,339,321	61.1	99.9	1358

Table 3. Description of Racial Change Typology and Distribution of Suburban Places by Racial Change Category

Category	Description	Number of Places	Percent of Total
Predominantly Black	Greater than 90% black in 1970 and 1980	8	0.6%
Increasing Percent Black:			
Invasion	Less than 0.5% black in 1970 and greater than 0.5% black in 1980: positive black growth	292	21.5
Succession....	Greater than 0.5% black in 1970 and 1980: positive black and negative white growth	191	14.1
Growing	Positive black and positive or stable white growth: black increases faster	190	14.0
Declining- Stable.....	Negative black and negative white OR stable black and stable or negative white growth: black decreases slower	79	5.8
Decreasing Percent Black:			
Displacement..	Positive white and negative black growth	25	1.8
Growing	Positive white and positive or stable black growth: white increases faster	57	4.2
Declining- Stable	Negative white and negative black OR stable white and stable or negative black growth: white decreases slower	107	7.9
Predominantly White	Less than 0.5% black in 1970 and 1980	409	30.1
Total		1358	100.0

positive--population increased by more than 10%

negative--population decreased by more than 10%

stable --population changed 10% or less in either direction

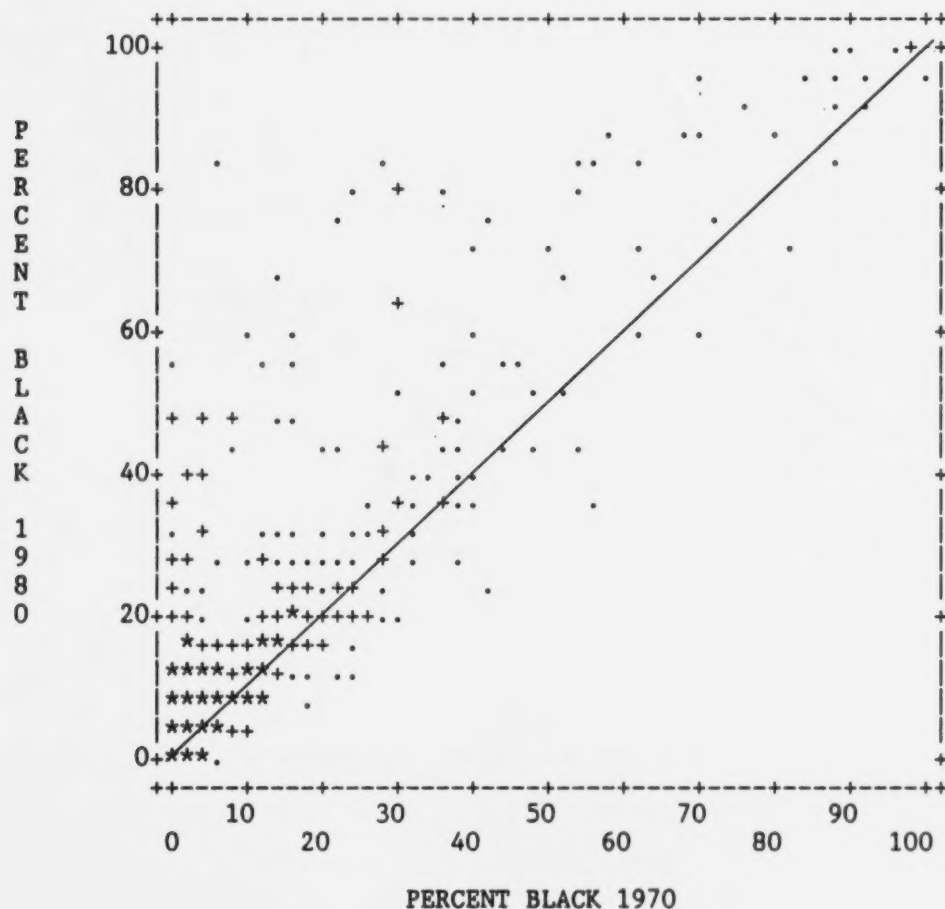
Table 4. Percent Distribution of Places across Racial Change Categories for
SMSAs with more than 30 Suburban Places

Racial Change Category											No. of Sub. Places	No. of Blacks, Total SMSA, 1980 (000s)
Pred. Blk.	Inc. Percent Black				Dec. Per. Black			Pred. Wht.				
	Inv.	Succ.	Grow.	Decl. Stab.	Disp.	Grow.	Decl. Stab.					
Atlanta	—	9.7%	16.1%	12.9%	9.7%	6.5%	29.0%	12.9%	3.2%	31	499	
Baltimore	—	11.9	21.4	38.1	11.9	2.4	2.4	9.5	2.4	42	557	
Chicago	1.1%	28.8	7.1	4.9	1.6	1.1	2.7	6.5	46.2	184	1,425	
Cleveland	—	29.3	13.8	3.4	1.7	1.7	1.7	3.4	44.8	58	346	
Detroit	—	11.3	3.8	1.3	7.5	2.5	—	2.8	70.0	80	891	
Los Ang.	—	38.2	17.6	9.8	2.9	2.0	—	5.9	23.5	102	949	
Milwaukee	—	16.2	—	5.4	—	2.7	2.7	2.7	70.3	37	151	
Minneapolis	—	31.5	2.7	5.5	—	1.4	1.4	—	57.5	73	54	
New York	—	14.2	9.4	17.0	11.3	0.9	—	18.9	28.3	106	1,941	
Newark	—	9.3	24.1	7.4	18.5	1.9	—	9.3	29.6	54	418	
Phila.	1.0	13.1	16.3	15.2	11.1	—	1.0	19.2	23.2	99	884	
Riverside	—	26.0	10.0	20.0	6.0	—	8.0	12.0	18.0	50	79	
St. Louis	1.1	17.2	26.4	9.2	10.3	2.3	2.3	5.7	25.3	87	408	
San Fran.	—	40.0	16.9	15.4	3.1	3.1	4.6	7.7	9.2	65	391	
Washing.	—	11.9	50.0	28.6	3.6	—	2.4	2.4	1.2	84	854	
Total (30 SMSAs)	0.6	23.9	13.6	12.7	5.8	1.8	3.8	7.1	30.7	1,358	3,458	

Table 5. Percent Distribution of Suburban Blacks and Whites
Across Racial Change Categories

Racial Change Category	Percent of Blacks		Percent of Whites		Number of Places
	1970	1980	1970	1980	
Predominantly Black.....	4.1%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	8
Increasing Percent Black:					
Invasion.....	0.8	6.8	25.8	27.7	292
Succession...	47.2	52.6	20.9	15.6	191
Growing.....	10.0	15.1	12.2	15.3	190
Declining- Stable.....	21.3	13.3	5.3	4.5	79
Decreasing Percent Black:					
Displacement..	0.8	0.3	0.8	1.1	25
Growing.....	3.8	2.9	1.7	2.7	57
Declining- Stable.....	11.7	6.0	6.2	5.6	107
Predominantly White	0.3	0.5	27.1	27.4	409
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	1358

Figure 1. Percent Black 1970 by Percent Black 1980
for Suburban Places in Selected SMSAs



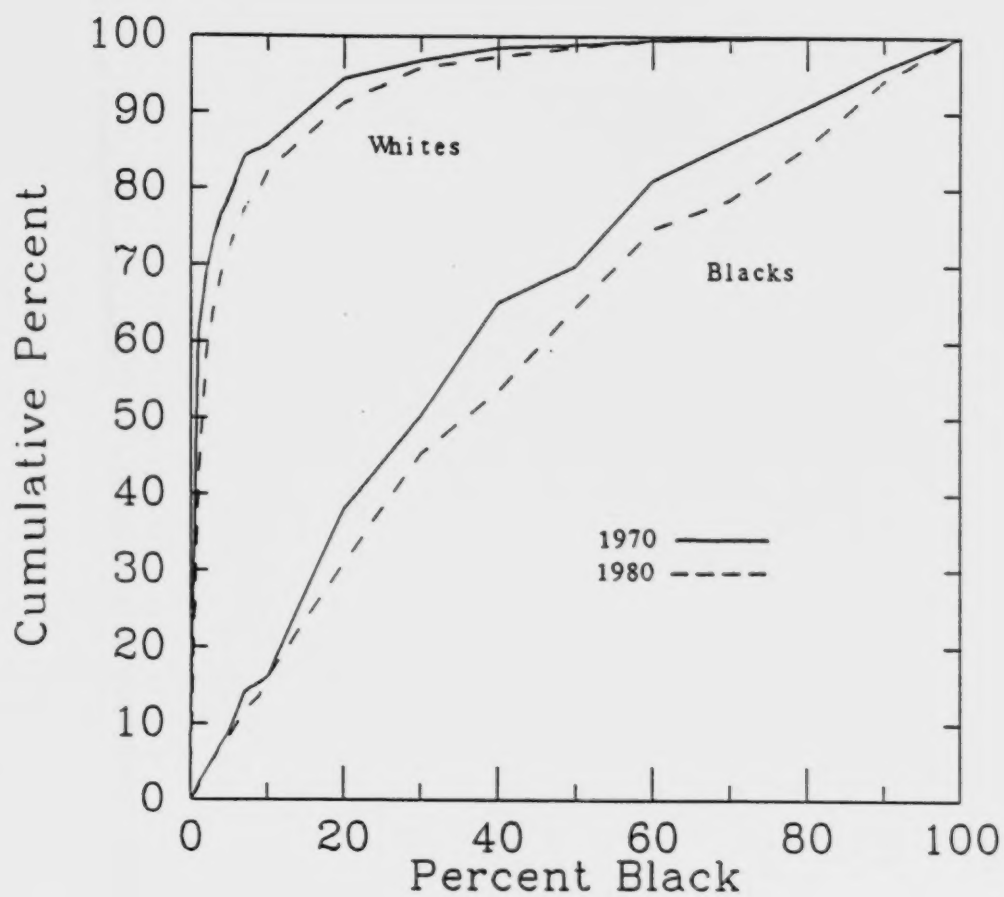
Key:

- . 1 suburb
- + 2-4 suburbs
- * 5 or more suburbs

Total number plotted=1358

Average Percent Black	
1970	1980
6.2%	9.3

Figure 2. Cumulative Distribution of Blacks and Whites by Racial Composition of Place



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